

## Message Text

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11

ACTION EUR-12

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R 180930Z OCT 74

FM AMCONSUL MUNICH

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5354

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

USMISSION BERLIN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: BAVARIAN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

1) SUMMARY. WITH ELECTIONS TO BAVARIAN LANDTAG ONLY TEN DAYS AWAY, ELECTION CAMPAIGN HAS YET TO GENERATE MUCH EXCITEMENT AMONG ELECTORATE. CERTAINTY OF OUTCOME MAKES IT UNLIKELY ATMOSPHERE WILL CHANGE SIGNIFICANTLY. EVEN SPD AND FDP LEADERS PUBLICLY ACCEPT INEVITABILITY OF RENEWED CSU ABSOLUTE MAJORITY IN LANDTAG. FDP, NO LONGER REQUIRING TEN PERCENT IN ONE DISTRICT UNDER PRESENT ELECTORAL LAW, IS EXPECTED BY ALL OBSERVERS EASILY TO MEET NECESSARY FIVE PERCENT VOTE REQUIRED FOR REPRESENTATION. ONLY OPEN QUESTION, THEREFORE, IS EXTENT OF MAJOR PARTIES' GAINS OR LOSSES WITH RESPECT TO 1970. NO POLITICIANS WITH WHOM CONGEN HAS BEEN IN CONTACT EXPECT THIS TO BE MATTER OF MORE THAN TWO OR THREE PERCENT. MOST INTERESTING ASPECT OF CAMPAIGN RECENTLY HAS BEEN DEGREE TO WHICH BACKLASH OF FARMERS AGAINST BONN'S VETO OF EC AGRICULTURAL PRICE RISE AND OF BOTH CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS AGAINST FDP'S CHURCH PAPER

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ADOPTED IN HAMBURG THREATEN TO CANCEL OUT THE SOLID GAINS THAT HAD

BEEN EXPECTED IN THE FDP VOTE. END SUMMARY.

2) OBSERVATIONS BY CONGEN REPRESENTATIVES IN MUNICH, LOWER BAVARIA, UPPER AND MIDDLE FRANCONIA AND UPPER PALATINATE CONFIRM GENERAL IMPRESSION THAT THIS IS AN UNEXCITING ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. IN MANY AREAS VISITED EVEN CANDIDATES WERE FINDING CAMPAIGN DULL. POSSIBLY AS FACTOR OF THIS LACK OF EXCITEMENT, SEVERAL CANDIDATES COMMENTED THAT CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY DECENT AND CLEAN ONE, WITH LESS NAME-CALLING THAN USUAL.

3) MASS RALLIES AND MEETINGS WITH BIG NAME POLITICIANS, BOTH BAVARIAN AND OUTSIDE, ATTRACT LARGE CROWDS AND ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE, BUT AT LEAST IN THE CITIES AND TOWNS, MEETINGS HEADED BY LESSER LIGHTS ARE NOT DRAWING WELL.

4) PUBLIC IS PRIMARILY INTERESTED, ACCORDING TO POLITICIANS, IN NATIONAL RATHER THAN BAVARIAN OR LOCAL ISSUES. CSU, SPD, AND FDP CANDIDATES AND OFFICIALS ALL CITE THE ECONOMY AS THE ELECTORATE'S MAJOR CONCERN, THOUGH EACH PARTY EVALUATES ITS EFFECT DIFFERENTLY. SPD SPEAKERS, FROM SCHMIDT AND BRANDT ON DOWN, CONCENTRATE ON THEME THAT GERMANS ARE BETTER OFF THAN CITIZENS OF OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED LANDS, WHILE CSU SPEAKERS BLAME INFLATION WOES AND UNEMPLOYMENT ON BONN. UNEMPLOYMENT MAY BE SIGNIFICANT ISSUE IN SOME AREAS, NOTABLY BORDER REGIONS WHERE TEXTILE AND CLOTHING INDUSTRIES ARE IN DIFFICULTY. CSU CANDIDATE IN BORDER AREA THOUGHT OSTPOLITIK MIGHT PLAY SLIGHT ROLE, SINCE CITIZENS IN HIS AREA TENDED BOTH TO OPPOSE CONTACTS WITH SOVIET UNION AND TO BE DISAPPOINTED OVER FACT BORDER TRAVEL HAS NOT DEVELOPED TO EXTENT ANTICIPATED WHEN TREATIES SIGNED. THERE IS ALSO, APPARENTLY, GRUMBLING IN BORDER AREA OVER LACK OF IMPROVEMENT IN AREA'S COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK, WHICH MANY FEEL TO BE KEY TO ITS ECONOMICALLY DEPRESSED CONDITION, BUT IMPACT OF THIS ON VOTING PATTERN WAS NOT EXPECTED TO BE GREAT.

5) IN 1970 ELECTIONS MINOR PARTIES ON RIGHT AND LEFT TOTALLED ONLY 4.8 PERCENT. WITH NPD, BAYERN PARTEI, BAYERISCHESTAATSPARTEI, DKP AND KPD ALL RUNNING THIS YEAR, IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE THIS TOTAL BEING SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED. IN PRACTICE, THEREFORE, GAINS REGISTERED BY ANY OF THREE MAJOR PARTIES WILL HAVE TO COME AT EXPENSE OF ONE OR BOTH OF THE OTHERS. GENERAL OVERALL IMPRESSION IS THAT CSU WILL WIN CLOSE TO 56.4 PERCENT IT POLLED IN 1970. SPD WOULD CONSIDER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THREE OR FOUR PERCENT LOSS BY CSU AS STRIKING VICTORY, BUT THIS WOULD STILL LEAVE CSU WITH COMFORTABLE MAJORITY. PREDICTIONS FOR SPD RANGE FROM SLIGHT LOSSES TO SLIGHT GAINS FROM 1970'S 33.3 PERCENT, WITH NO RPT NO PARTY OFFICIALS TELLING US THEY EXPECT TO ACHIEVE 37.8 PERCENT THEY WON IN 1972 BUNDESTAG ELECTION. FDP HAD BEEN EXPECTED GENERALLY TO GAIN PERHAPS TWO PERCENT, WITH CSU OFFICIALS TENDING TO PREDICT THIS WOULD BE AT SPD EXPENSE, AND SPD OFFICIALS PREDICTING IT WOULD COME FROM CSU. FDP'S CHURCH PAPER AND BONN'S

REACTION AGAINST PROPOSED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AGRICULTURAL PRICE RISE, HOWEVER, MAKE FDP PROSPECTS APPEAR LESS FAVORABLE.

6) CSU APPEARS TO BE IN BEST SHAPE INTERNALLY. PARTY IS UNIFIED. STRAUSS HAS DIRECTED HIS ATTENTIONS RECENTLY AT CSU RATHER THAN AT GOPPEL AND BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT, SO IMAGE OF STRAUSS-GOPPEL TEAM IS CURRENTLY UNIMPAIRED. SPECTACLE OF STRAUSS DISCONCERTING CDU LEADERS BY DISCUSSING MERITS OF POTENTIAL CHANCELLOR CANDIDATES, AND HENCE MAKING ALL FRG AWARE OF IMPORTANCE OF BAVARIA, PROBABLY HELPS CDU WITH BAVARIAN VOTERS.

7) SPD IS DOING ITS BEST TO DEFEAT ITSELF, AT LEAST IN MUNICH. GEISELBERGER AFFAIR IS CONTINUING. SUSPENDED FROM SPD, HE IS NOW THREATENING TO SUE MUNICH CITY COUNCIL FOR HAVING DIVESTED HIM OF HIS FUNCTIONS IN SPD FRAKTION IN COUNCIL. LEFTIST MUNICH SPD SUB-DISTRICT COMMITTEE IS ADDING TO PARTY'S INTERNAL WOES BY THREATENING MUNICH LORD MAYOR KRONAWITTER WITH DISCIPLINARY ACTION, BECAUSE OF HIS HAVING APPOINTED CSU MEMBER AS CITY HEALTH OFFICIAL. LAND CHAIRMAN DR. VOGEL IS CAMPAIGNING IN MUNICH ONLY FOR SELECTED SPD CANDIDATES, LEAVING MORE LEFTIST ONES TO THEIR FATES. SPD IS EXPECTED TO LOSE VOTES IN MUNICH, AND THERE IS STRONG POSSIBILITY IT WILL LOSE DIRECTLY ELECTED SEATS. PARTY HOPES TO COMPENSATE THESE LOSSES BY GAINS ELSEWHERE, NOTABLY IN LOWER BAVARIA, BUT MAY WELL FAIL TO DO SO. WHILE POSSIBLE LOSS APPEARS TO BE MATTER OF ONLY TWO OR THREE PERCENTAGE POINTS AND WILL HAVE LITTLE BEARING ON MAKE-UP OF LANDTAG, IT COULD HAVE SOME LASTING EFFECTS WITHIN BAVARIAN SPD, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO STRENGTH OF VOGEL'S POSITION WILL BE WEAKENED.

8) FDP, AT THIS JUNCTURE, IS BIGGEST QUESTION MARK. IN 1970 IT HAD NO BASE IN LANDTAG, AND HAD TO POLL TEN PERCENT IN ONE DISTRICT TO ACHIEVE ANY REPRESENTATION. THIS RESULTED IN ITS CONCENTRATING ITS EFFORTS IN MIDDLE FRANCONIA, WHERE IT WAS STRONGEST, NEGLECTING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OTHER AREAS. SINCE ITS ABILITY TO MEET THE TEN PERCENT REQUIREMENT WAS QUESTIONABLE, MANY FDP SYMPATHIZERS PRESUMABLY FAILED TO VOTE FOR IT FOR FEAR OF THROWING THEIR VOTES AWAY. THIS YEAR IT DOES HAVE BASE IN LANDTAG, THE TEN PERCENT REQUIREMENT HAS BEEN ABOLISHED, ALLOWING IT TO CAMPAIGN HARDER THROUGHOUT BAVARIA, AND IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN OF MEETING THE FIVE PERCENT REQUIREMENT. LAND CHAIRMAN AND AGRICULTURE MINISTER ERTL HAS, UP TO RECENTLY, BEEN EXTREMELY POPULAR IN RURAL DISTRICTS, AND HIS 1970 QUARRELS WITH DR. HAMM-BRUECKER, THE PARTY'S FRONT-RUNNER, HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN PATCHED UP. FDP PROSPECTS, THEREFORE, LOOKED PROMISING, AND A SEVEN, OR EVEN AN EIGHT, PERCENT VOTE SEEMED A REASONABLE ASPIRATION.

CANDIDATES FROM ALL PARTIES, FDP INCLUDED, HOWEVER, HAVE REPORTED CONSIDERABLE CITIZEN BACKLASH AGAINST THE FDP FOR BOTH THE PARTY'S CHURCH PAPER APPROVED IN ITS RECENT HAMBURG CONVENTION, AND BONN'S

VETO OF BRUSSELS' PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL PRICE RISE. VALIANT EFFORTS BY ERTL AND HAMM-BRUECKER IN HAMBURG TO DEFEAT CHURCH PAPER, AND EXPLANATIONS THAT IT IS ONLY WORKING PAPER, NOT FINAL PRODUCT, MAY ALLEVIATE PROBLEM SOMEWHAT, BUT WILL NOT ELIMINATE IT. INTERESTINGLY, FDP IS HURT NOT ONLY IN CATHOLIC AREAS, BUT IN MILITANTLY PROTESTANT MIDDLE FRANCONIA AS WELL. AS FOR AGRICULTURAL PRICE QUESTION, MOST OBSERVERS THINK THAT SUBSEQUENTLY COMPROMISE HAS NOT LESSENED ANGER OF BAVARIAN FARMERS, THOUGH SOME FDP AND SPD OFFICIALS HOPE THAT FARMERS' IRE WILL BE MORE THAN OFFSET BY MORE POSITIVE REACTION OF OTHER CITIZENS INTERESTED IN LOWER FOOD PRICES RATHER THAN IN FARMERS' WELFARE. SPIVACK

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